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A SPEECH MADE TO THE HOVSE OF COMMONS CONCERNING EPISCOPACY.

By the Lord Viſcount *Faulkeland.*

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SPEECH
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THE HOVSE
OF COMMONS.

THE LORD *FAVLKE-LAND* HIS SPEECH TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MASTER SPEAKER, he is a great ſtranger in *Iſrael* who knowes not, that this Kingdome hath long laboured under many and great oppreſſions, both in religion and liberty, and his acquaintance here is not great or his ingenuity leſſe, who doth not both know and acknowledge that a great, if not a principall cauſe, of both theſe, hath beene ſome Biſhops and their adherents.

Maſter Speaker a little ſearch will ſerve to find them to have beene the deſtruction of unity under pretence of uniformity to have brought

in ſuperſtition, and ſcandall, under the titles of reverence, and decency: to have defil'd our Church; by adorning our Churches; to have ſlackned the ſtrictneſſe of that union which was formerly betweene us, and thoſe of our religion beyond the ſea, an action as unpoliticke, as ungodly.

Maſter Speaker, wee ſhall finde them to have Tith'd Mint and Anice, and have left undone the weightier workes of the law, to have beene leſſe eager upon thoſe who damne our Church then upon thoſe, who upon weake conſcience, and perhaps as weake reaſons (the diſlike of ſome commanded garment or ſome uncommanded poſture) onely abſtained from it. Nay it hath beene more dangerous for men to goe to ſome neighbours Pariſh, when they had no ſermon in their owne, then to bee obſtinate and perpetuall recuſants, while maſſes have beene ſaid in ſecurity; a conventicle hath beene a crime, and which is yet more, the conforming to ceremonies hath beene more exacted then the conforming to Chriſtianity, and whileſt men for ſcruples have beene undone, for attempts upon *Sodoma* they have onely beene admoniſhed.

Maſter Speaker, wee ſhall find them to have beene like the hen in Æſop, which laying every day an egge upon ſuch a proportion of barly, her Miſtreſſe increaſing her proportion in hope

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ſhee would encreaſe her egges, ſhee grew ſo fat upon that addition, that ſhee never laid more: ſo though at firſt their preaching were the occaſion of their preferment, they after made their preferment, the occaſion of their not preaching.

Maſter Speaker, wee ſhall find them to have reſembled another fable, the dogge in the manger, to have neither preached themſelves, nor employ thoſe that ſhould, nor ſufferd thoſe that would. To have brought in catechiſing onely to thruſt out preaching, cried downe lectures by the name of factions, either becauſe their induſtry in that duty appeared a reproofe to their neglect of it (not unlike to that we read of him, who in *Nero*'s time and *Tacitus* his ſtory was accuſed, becauſe by his vertue hee did appeare *Exprobrare vitia Principis*) or with intention to have brought in darkeneſſe, that they might the eaſier ſow their tares, while it was night: and by that introduction of ignorance, introduce the better that Religion, which accompts it the Mother of devotion.

Maſter Speaker in this they have abuſed his Majeſty, as well as his people, for when hee had with great wiſedome (ſince uſually the children of darkeneſſe are wiſer in their generation then the children of light; I may gueſſe not without ſome eye upon the moſt politicke action

action of the moſt politicke Church) ſilenced on both parts thoſe opinions which have often tormented the Church and have, and will alway trouble the ſchooles they made uſe of this declaration to tye up one ſide, and let the other looſe, where as they ought either in diſcretion to have beene equally reſtrained, or in juſtice to have beene equally tollerated. And it is obſervable, that that party to which they gave this licence was that, whoſe doctrine though it were not contrary to law, was contrary to cuſtome, and for a long while in this Kingdome was, no oftner preached then recanted.

The truth is *Maſter Speaker*, that as ſome ill Miniſters in our ſtate firſt tooke away our mony from us, and after endeavoured to make our mony not worth the taking, by turning it into braſſe by a kind of *Antiphiloſophers-ſtone:* So theſe men uſed us in the point of preaching, firſt depreſſing it to their power, and next labouring to make it ſuch, as the harme had not beene much, if it had beene depreſſed, the moſt frequent ſubjects even in the moſt ſacred auditories, being the *Jus divinum* of Biſhops and tithes, the ſacredneſſe of the clergie, the ſacriledge of impropriations, the demoliſhing of puritaniſme and propriety, the building of the prerogative and *Pauls*, the introduction of ſuch doctrines, as admitting them true, the truth would

would not recompence the ſcandall, or of ſuch as were ſo farre falſe, that as Sir *Thomas Moore* ſayes of the caſuiſts, their buſineſſe was not to keepe men from ſinning but to enforme them *Quàm propè ad peccatum ſine peccato liceat accedere*; ſo it ſeemed their worke was to try how much of a Papiſt might bee brought in without Popery, and to deſtroy as much as they could of the Goſpell, without bringing themſelves into danger of being deſtroyed by the law.

Maſter Speaker, to goe yet further, ſome of them have ſo induſtriouſly laboured to deduce themſelves from *Rome*, that they have given great ſuſpition, that in gratitude they deſire to returne thither, or at leaſt to meete it halfe way, ſome have evidently labourd to bring, in an *Engliſh*, though not a *Roman* popery. I meane not onely the outſide and dreſſe of it, but equally abſolute a blind dependance of the people upon the clergie, and of the clergie upon themſelves, and have oppoſed the papacy beyond the ſea, that they might ſettle one beyond the water. Nay common fame is more then ordinarily falſe, if none of them have found a way to reconcile the opinions of *Rome*, to the preferments of *England*; bee ſo abſolutely directly and cordially Papiſt, that it is all, that fifteene hundred pounds a yeare can doe to keepe them from confeſſing it.

Maſter Speaker I come now to ſpeake of our liber-

ties, and considering the great interest these men have had in our common Master, and considering how great a good to us they might have made that interest in him, if they would have used it to have informed him of our generall sufferings; and considering how little of their freedome of Speech at *Whitehall*, might have saved us a great deale of the use wee have now of it in the Parliament house, their not doing this alone were occasion enough for us to accuse them, as the betrayers though not as the destroyer of our rights and liberties. Though I confesse if they had beene onely silent in this particular I had beene silent too; But alas they whose ancestors in the darkest times excommunicated the breakers of *Magna charta*, did now by themselves and their adherents both write, preach, plot, and act against it, by encouraging Doctor *Beale*, by preferring Doctor *Mannering*, appearing forward for monopolies and ship-mony: and if any were slow and backeward to comply, blasting both them and their preferment, with utmost expression of their hatred, the title of *Puritans*.

Master Speaker, wee shall find some of them to have labourd to exclude both all persons, and all causes of the clergie from the ordinary jurisdiction of the temporall magistrate, and by hindring prohibitions (first by apparant power against the Iudges, and after by secret agree-

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ments with them) to have taken away the onely legall bound to their arbitrary power, and made as it were a conqueſt upon the common law of the Land, which is our common inheritance, and after made uſe of that power to turne their brethren out of their freeholds, for not doing that which no law of man required of them to doe, and which (in their opinions) the law of God required of them not to doe. Wee ſhall find them in generall to have encouraged all the clergie to ſuites; and to have brought all ſuites to the Councell-table that having all power in Eccleſiaſticall matters, they laboured for equall power in temporall, and to diſpoſe as well of every office as of every benefice, and loſt the clergie, much revenew and much reverence, (whereof the laſt is never given when it is ſo asked) by encouraging them indiſcreetly to exact more of both then was due, ſo that indeed the gaine of their greatneſſe extended but to a few of that order, though the envy entended upon all.

Wee ſhall find of them to have both kindled and blowne the common fire of both nations, to have both ſent and maintained that booke, of which the authour no doubt hath long ſince wish'd with *Nero*, *Utinam neſciſſem literas*, and of which more then one Kingdome hath cauſe to wiſh, that when hee writ that, hee had rather burnd a library, though of the value of *Ptolo-*

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mie's. Wee ſhall find them to have beene the firſt and principall cauſe of the breach, I will not ſay of, but ſince the pacification at *Barwicke*. Wee ſhall find them to have beene the almoſt ſole abettors of my Lord of *Strafford*, whileſt hee was practiſing upon another Kingdome, that manner of government which hee intended to ſettle in this, where hee committed ſo many, ſo mighty, and ſo manifeſt enormities and oppreſſions as the like have not beene committed by any Governour in any government ſince *Verres* left *Sicily*. And after they had called him over from being Deputy of *Ireland* to bee in a manner Deputy of *England*, (all things here, being govern'd by a *Juntillo*, and that *Juntillo* govern'd by him) to have aſſiſted him in the giving of ſuch Councells, and the purſuing of ſuch courſes, as it is a hard and meaſuring caſt, whether they were more unwiſe, more unjuſt, or more unfortunate, and which had infallibly beene our deſtruction if by the grace of God their ſhare had not beene as ſmall in the ſubtilty of Serpents as in the innocency of doves.

Maſter Speaker, I have repreſented no ſmall quantity, and no meane degree of guilt, and truly I beleeve, that wee ſhall make no little complement to thoſe, and no little apologie for thoſe to whom this charge belongs, if wee ſhall lay the faults of the men upon the order

order of the Biſhops, upon the *Epiſcopacy*. I wiſh wee may diſtinguiſh betweene thoſe, who have beene carried away with the ſtreame, and thoſe who have beene the ſtreame that carry'd them; betweene thoſe, whoſe proper and naturall motion was towards our ruine and deſtruction, and thoſe who have beene whirl'd about to it contrary to their naturall motion by the force and ſwinge of ſuperiour *Orbes*; and as I wiſh, wee may diſtinguiſh betweene the more and leſſe guilty; ſo I yet more wiſh, wee may diſtinguiſh betweene the guilty and the innocent.

Maſter Speaker, I doubt if wee conſider, that if not the firſt Planters yet the firſt Spreaders of Chriſtianity, and the firſt and chiefe Defenders of Chriſtianity againſt hereſies within and paganiſme without, both with their inke and with their bloud; and the maine conducers to the reſurrection of Chriſtianity: (at leaſt) here in the reformation (and we owe the light of the Goſpell wee now enjoy to the fire they then endur'd for it) were all Biſhops: and that even now in the greateſt perverſion of that order, there are yet ſome who have conduc'd in nothing to our late innovations, but in their ſilence; ſome who in an unexpected and mighty place and power have expreſſed an equall moderation and humility, being neither ambitious before, nor proud after, either of the Croſiers

ſtaffe or white ſtaffe: ſome who have beene learn'd oppoſers of Popery, and zealous oppoſers of *Arminianiſme*, betweene whom and their inferiour clergy in frequency of preaching hath beene no diſtinction, whoſe lives are untouched, not onely by guilt, but by malice; ſcarce to bee equall'd by thoſe of any condition, or to bee excell'd by thoſe in any Calendar. I doubt not I ſay, but if wee conſider this, this conſideration will bring forth this concluſion, that Biſhops may bee good men, and let us give but good men good rules, wee ſhall have both good governours and good times.

Maſter Speaker, I am content to take away all thoſe things from them, which to any conſiderable degree of probability may againe beget the like miſchiefes, if they bee not taken away. If their temporall titles power and employment appeare likely to diſtract them from the care of, or make them looke downe with contempt upon their Spirituall duty, and that the too great diſtance betweene them, and thoſe they governe will hinder the free and fit recourſe of their inferiours to them; and occaſion inſolence from them to their inferiours. Let that be conſidered, and car'd for, I am ſure neither their Lordſhips, their Judging of tithes wills and marriages, no, nor their voices in Parliaments are *Jure divino*, and I am as ſure, that theſe titles and this power, are not neceſſary to

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their authority, as appeares by the little they have had with us by them, and the much that others have had without them.

If their revenew ſhall appeare likely to produce the ſame effects (for it hath beene anciently obſerv'd that *Religio peperit divitias, & Filia devoravit matrem*;) Let ſo much of that, as was in all probability, intended for an attendant upon their temporall dignities, waite upon them out of the doores. Let us onely take care to leave them ſuch proportions, as may ſerve in ſome good degree to the dignity of learning and the encouragement of ſtudents, and let us not inuert that of *Jeroboam*, and as hee made the meaneſt of the people Prieſts, make the higheſt of the Prieſts, the meaneſt of the people.

If it bee feared, that they will againe employ ſome of our Lawes, with a ſeverity beyond the intention of thoſe Lawes againſt ſome of their weaker Bretheren, that wee may bee ſure to take away that power, let us take away thoſe Lawes, and let no ceremonies which any number counts unlawfull, and no man counts neceſſary (againſt the rules of *Polity* and Saint *Paul*) be impoſed upon them. Let us conſider that part of the rule, they have hitherto gone by, that is ſuch canons of their owne making as are not confirm'd by Parliament have beene, or no doubt ſhortly

ly will bee by Parliament taken away, that the other part of the rule (ſuch canons as were here received before the reformation and not contrary to any law, is too doubtfull to bee a fit rule, exacting an exact knowledge of the canon law, of the common law, of the ſtatute law knowledges, which thoſe who are thus to governe have not, and it is ſcarce fit they ſhould have. Since therefore wee are to make new rules, and ſhall no doubt make thoſe new rules, ſtrict rules; and bee infallibly certaine of a trienniall Parliament to ſee thoſe rules obſerv'd as ſtrictly as they are made, and to encreaſe or change them upon all occaſions, wee ſhall have no reaſon to feare any innovation from their tyranny, or to doubt any defect in the diſcharge of their duty. I am confident, they will not dare either ordaine, ſuſpend, ſilence, excommunicate, or deprive otherwiſe, then wee would have them. And if this bee beleeved, I am as confident, we ſhall not thinke it fit to aboliſh upon a few dayes debate an order, which hath laſted (as appeares by ſtory) in moſt Churches theſe ſixteene hundred yeares, and in all from Chriſt to *Calvin*, or in an inſtant change the whole face of the Church, like the ſcene of a Maske.

Maſter Speaker, I doe not beleeve them to bee *Jure divino*, nay I beleeve them not to bee *Jure divino*, but neither doe I beleeve them to bee

bee *Injuria humana*. I neither conſider them as neceſſary, nor as unlawfull, but as convenient or inconvenient. But ſince all great mutations in government are dangerous, (even where what is introduc'd by that mutation is ſuch as would have beene very profitable upon a primary foundation) and ſince the greateſt danger of mutations is, that all the dangers and inconveniences they may bring are not to bee foreſeene, and ſince no wiſe man will undergoe great danger, but for great neceſſity; my opinion is, that wee ſhould not roote up this ancient tree as dead as it appeares, till wee have tried whether by this or the like lopping of the branches, the ſappe which was unable to feed the whole, may not ſerve to make what is left both grow and flouriſh. And certainely, if wee may at once take away both the inconveniences of Biſhops, & the inconvenience of no Biſhops, that is of an almoſt univerſall mutation; this courſe can onely bee oppoſed by thoſe, who love mutation for mutations ſake.

Maſter Speaker, to bee ſhort (as I have reaſon to bee after having beene ſo long,) this triall may bee ſuddenly made, let us commit as much of the Miniſters remonſtrance, as wee have reade, that thoſe heads both of abuſes and grievances which are there fully collected, may bee marſhal'd and ordered for our debate; if upon that debate it ſhall appeare, that thoſe may

may bee taken away and yet the order ſtand, wee ſhall not need to commit the *London* petition at all: for the cauſe of it will bee ended, if it ſhall appeare, that the abolition of the one cannot bee, but by the deſtruction of the other, then let us not commit the *London-petition*, but let us grant it.

FINIS.